/632 cont./

before and after her confinement. I could not discover the specific words that were used. Every young Fuegian learns the meaning of the sexual act for himself, not by direct instruction, but by observing animals and by comparing his body with that of the opposite sex. He is aided in this by the very meager body covering and by the intimacy of Fuegian life. At first they do not seek actual enjoyment in the sexual act; "that comes later, after it has been tasted a number of times," old Julia confessed. A further reason is that in the years before physical maturity until marriage, the two sexes, even brothers and sisters, must remain apart, which restrains desire.

It cannot be denied, however, that girls after puberty and boys after the youth initiation are purposefully, albeit inconspicuously, prepared for all the events and obligations of marital life. First they are given many suggestions and repeated admonitions. They are told: "When you are married you must no longer dawdle about in such a carefree manner! -- Later you must always have a supply of meat for your wife and your children. -- Always be kind to your wife, for she gives you children. -- Do not quarrel with your husband, otherwise he will go to another hut and you will have to sleep alone in your hut; in the end he will be unfaithful to you, after he has slept several nights in the hut of another family!" I am indebted to Gertie for these words. Such statements unconsciously change the entire mental attitude of the young person toward the forthcoming start of his new life in marriage; he thinks about it more often and finally himself finds the more or less correct, but adequate explanation for many physiological facts which he observes from his own body.

Meanwhile, inevitably, the awareness of a still unattained fulfillment of physical and spiritual being increases to a passionate desire for a partner in marriage. "When the young people have been released from the climax, they cannot bear to live unmarried much longer. Some seem all the more excited and perturbed the longer they must wait for a marriage partner," Alfredo emphasized. "Now and then there is a girl who is quite uncontrolled in her behavior and who will suddenly throw herself into the arms of any boy because she does not want to live alone any longer; she longs for a husband and /633/ for children!"

/682 cont./

demonstrations of love on the part of his spouse (76), the one

76. Hyades (d):308 confirms that "the Fuegians are very capable of feeling love and jealousy" /translated from French/.

more, the other less, according to personal inclination. In this respect Mary seemed to me most conspicuously tender and solicitous of her Robert, whereas not the least reason why old Pedro curtailed all social intercourse with other families was because he wanted to belong only to his very jealous wife (77).

77. Our Fuegians avoid passionate outpourings of emotion. If Lovisato (b):146 had been aware of this, he would never have come to the false conclusion that "conjugal love does not exist" /translated from Italian/.

•683 According to the reliable intimations that I received, the Yamana practice moderation in their sex life and perform the sexual act in /683/ the normal position (78). To maintain that

78. Hyades (g):187 confirms that "among adult Fuegians sexual functions are performed with moderation... The women are as moderate as the men in their demand for sexual pleasure" /translated from French/.

this is the influence of their diet is probably inadequate; there is a greater effect from the constant cool and damp atmosphere than many people suspect. Also it should be noted that the man and wife tire themselves physically almost every day. If they are very weary, they abstain from sexual pleasure and make up for it when they rest for a few days at one place (79).

79. A false statement by Bove (e):158, quoted in footnote 38, is further exaggerated by Lovisato (b):150 in the following

1: Gestede---467 E-5 (1905-1924) 1907 0098 Tshgoo 0098

/583 cont./

•[33] ceremony: "A man must wash himself after leaving the wigwam of his lover, because otherwise he cannot eat gustaco meat. If he does not wash himself, the dogs die" /translated from Italian/.

573 152 Among our Fuegians, far more than elsewhere, conjugal love assumes the form of genuine jealousy. The deep vigilance with which a husband protected his wife at the approach of a stranger has made many a traveler of earlier times very uncomfortable, and the natives often shunned (80) his bold observations by quick

80. This was the most frequent cause for the friction and quarrels accompanying the visit of European ships among our Indians, hence their shy reserve (p. 248 /annotated/, p.2).

flight. P. Snow (s):1,149 clearly speaks of their "jealous disposition" /cited in English/, which they have retained up to the present time, some more, others less (81). It is striking that

81. Several similar opinions have been assembled by Cooper:168.

jealousy generally terrorizes only the men, and that women, with a few exceptions, are spared it. These exceptions apply to wives of the same man. Hyades (g):230 also observed that "the women, and above all the young women, is no little aware of this feeling (82) that she seems very happy to see the same favors granted

82. Hyades (g):378 concedes rare exceptions, however, and realizes that "jealous women make life very disagreeable for their husbands" /translated from French/.

her friends by the man she loves" /translated from French/ (83).

83. He also emphatically denies the

L. Gramado--623 0-0 (1919-1954) 1937 S316 Tahgan S316

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§62 ...beginning to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (158), but for a long time the chief food

> 183. Hyades (a):186 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, *filakuï*. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

27 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from
163 a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Puma Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
[158] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Holm (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

§27 I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
§33 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

1: Gusinde--824 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S96 Yahgan S96

/721 cont./

827 933 one of the few days when she is not nursing her child (154), some-

154. Contrary to certain illusions that sexual intercourse ceases until after the last child has been weaned, Hyades (q):196 establishes in detail "that from the second month after confinement, intercourse is resumed between the spouses" /translated from French/. There may be other reasons why sometimes, not "often," as Hahn (s):805 writes, "several years go by between the first pregnancy and the next" /translated from French/.

times even during the third month after confinement.

846 On page 501 we described how the baby's umbilical cord is tied by the Fuegians. The mother is very careful about the umbilical cord so that it does not break off prematurely. In the case of a woman who had been delivered, Hyades (q):196 observed on the third day: "The cord is dried and no longer held to the umbilicus except by a thread-like stalk. The mother has tied it today at its free end with a bit of thread, the other end of which is attached to a little band of fabric fastened around the right leg of the child" /translated from French/. During the night of the third to fourth day, the umbilical cord dropped off, and when Hyades, who had requested it, asked about it, he was told that it had been thrown into the fire. This, in my opinion, was only an excuse to put him off, for, as a rule, every mother catches the umbilical cord, kúfu, when it falls off, wraps it around her finger, keeps it for a few days until it is dry, and then hangs this ringlet on a necklace so that she will not lose it. It is not exactly customary to display the umbilical cord conspicuously, but if the mother wears a necklace containing the ringlet no one seems surprised. /722/ The mother fastens the insignificant little thing to a necklace, which she most safely keeps in her leather bag, chiefly so that she will not lose it (155). When the child is about four years old, he must

155. Among the Halakwulup there is a custom that the father wears the umbilical cord of his most recent child on a string around his neck

/775 cont./

867 jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weaknesses during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in
[33] front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

593 Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

591 At present there are a few families without children, and
152 they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

206. Bridges (a):183 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

207. Bridges (a):184 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents, but no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

/1022 cont./

TR 113 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yâhanuf and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Thuwalin burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Wetaginiwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Wetaginiwa also says. Before Lêm [sun] and Hâmuxa [moon] and Ahêjuta [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Wetaginiwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1022/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal Hyôwa (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lêm and Hamuxa and the stars come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones mentioned] and ôff [heaven], too, were here, Wetaginiwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Mâlemihêmu felt this gap and tried to fill it.

/1137 cont./

113 burned up the whole world and all the animals. But how everything became orderly again after that, how the country came alive again with plants and animals, who it was that finally extinguished the great fire -- all this we do not know. In former years I often asked the most experienced Yamana about it, but no one was able to help me."

On another occasion, in March, 1913, among a group of old /1138/ men, I again touched on the subject of how, in their opinion, the heaven and the first animals originated. I actually challenged them by saying: "You tell the story that Watauineiwa made all the animals (hif) in Yihaaiipa. Very well, but how did human beings come into being at that time?" The answer was: "We don't know that exactly. Watauineiwa, of course, existed a very long time ago, for heaven was already there above the earth where the clouds are. That is where Watauineiwa always stayed. Back in the days when Lihm and Hihmuna and Aiiffuna were still wandering down here on earth, they were exactly like us today. But Watauineiwa existed before them, because heaven was already there as we see it now. At that time the sky was much closer to the earth than it is nowadays.

113 "At that time the women ruled, they gave orders to the
•113 men. But we do not know how children came into being in those days, since women played the leading role, they would not lie under the men [ad copulam perficiendam /to facilitate coitus/]. So we do not know how children originated. Since the great upheaval, the women are dominated by the men. At that time the great seal shrimp (Anthrocephalus centralis) discovered the place [on the body] where the libido sexualis is, and this he made known to the men. He said: 'Vir incubet inmittat membrum suum mulieri succubae /man, lying on top, puts his member in woman lying underneath/!' Since that time the men dictate to the women, they lie on top of them; this gives them great pleasure and in this way children come into existence. Even today the Yamana do the same thing. We do not know how Lihm and Hihmuna and all the rest who now appear up there as stars originated. Long before that Watauineiwa, as well as the canopy of heaven, was there.

113 "During that great upheaval in which the men rose up against the women who had brought the kina game down here from